DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 298 970 JC 880 341

AUTHOR Turner, Caroline Sotello Viernes
TITLE A California Case Study: Organizational Determinants of the Transfer of Hispanic Students from Two- to Four-Year Colleges in the Bay Area.
PUB DATE 88
NOTE 59p.; Summary of a Ph.D. Dissertation completed at Stanford University.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS College Curriculum; *College Transfer Students; *Educational Mobility; Educational Opportunities; Higher Education; *Hispanic Americans; *Institutional Characteristics; Intercollegiate Cooperation; Mentors; Organizational Climate; Racial Balance; Student College Relationship; Student Placement; *Two Year College Students
IDENTIFIERS California

ABSTRACT

A study was conducted to identify organizational factors facilitating or inhibiting the transfer of Hispanic students from California community colleges to four-year institutions. Using the Kanter model of structural determinants for organizational behavior, the study examined opportunity structures (e.g., placement procedures and mobility prospects); routes to organizational power (e.g., student participation in extra-curricular activities and home, work, or campus alliances); and representation (i.e., the proportions of Hispanic and non-Hispanic White students within the community college student body). Three mid-sized, suburban community colleges were selected as study sites. One college had high transfer rates for both Hispanic and non-Hispanic White students, one had low transfer rates for both groups, and the third had a high transfer rate for non-Hispanic White students and a low transfer rate for Hispanic students. Interviews and surveys were used to gather information on college structures and routines from students, staff, and faculty. Study findings included the following: (1) Hispanic students were overrepresented in remedial English courses; (2) the college with the high transfer rates offered a remedial English course tailored especially for Hispanic students; (3) on-campus employment was found to help students use the educational system effectively; and (4) the colleges with high and discrepant transfer rates had more organizational vehicles for communication with their student bodies than the college with low transfer rates. (AJL)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED298970

A California Case Study:

Organizational Determinants of the Transfer of Hispanic Students From Two- to Four-Year Colleges In The Bay Area

Caroline Sotello Viernes Turner
Department of Educational Policy and Administration
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

C. S. Turner

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

JC 880 341

ABSTRACT

ORGANIZATIONAL DETERMINANTS OF THE TRANSFER OF HISPANIC STUDENTS FROM TWO- TO FOUR- YEAR COLLEGES

Caroline Turner, Ph.D.
Stanford University, 1988

Hispanics constitute a significant and growing component of California's total population, yet they are underrepresented in the state's institutions of higher education. Aggregate data indicate that Hispanics transfer from two- to four-year colleges at half the rate of non-Hispanic whites. This outcome is not uniform across the community college system but varies by college. To generate hypotheses about community college factors that may explain differential transfer outcomes for Hispanics, an exploratory multi-site case study was conducted. This work is informed by Kanter's model of structural determinants for organizational behavior (1977). Interviews and surveys are used to collect data on college structures and routines from the perspective of staff, faculty and students. Study results point to a set of institutional and individual characteristics which may interact to form a pattern that facilitates or hinders the movement of Hispanic students from community college study sites to four-year colleges.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

According to the 1980 Census, Hispanics comprise 19.2% of the total California population. By the year 2000, the percentage of Hispanics in California is projected to increase to 28.1%. Clearly this group constitutes a significant and growing component of the state's population. However, the size of the Hispanic population is not reflected in the participation rates of this group in California's public system of higher education. This study examines the participation of Hispanic students in the community college context.

Most people in California who enter public postsecondary education do so at the two-year community college level. Analysis of recent college enrollment data provided by the California Postsecondary Education Commission (CPEC) reveals that community college enrollment patterns are similar for Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites: 80% of the Hispanics who enroll in college are found in community colleges, and 70% of non-Hispanic whites who enroll in college are found in community colleges. The phenomenon to be examined in this study is: given the similar enrollment pattern of non-Hispanic whites and Hispanics (70-80% respectively) in community colleges, why do non-Hispanic whites transfer from two- to four-year colleges at twice the rate of the

Hispanic student population? Aggregate community college trend data present a picture of differential transfer rates among ethnic student populations, but the data do little to illuminate the processes by which these outcomes are produced.

However, this overall transfer outcome is not uniform across the whole California community college system but varies by college. At some community colleges, Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites transfer at similar rates, whereas other colleges exhibit strikingly dissimilar rates of transfer for Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites (i.e. non-Hispanic white students transfer at twice the rate of Hispanic students).

PREVIOUS STUDIES AND THEORETICAL FOCUS

Previous studies describe individual and institutional factors that may influence the academic progress of students in two-year community colleges. A review of this literature reveals that organizational or structural features of community colleges seem to make a difference in student educational progress. (Dougherty, 1987; Alba and Lavin, 1981; Astin, 1982; Chacon, Cohen, and Strover, 1983; Duran, 1983; Clark, 1960 and 1980; Karabel, 1972; Peng, 1977) However, it is not clear what institutional characteristics make a difference or how they exert their effect.

This study's focus on organizational determinants is informed by Rosebeth Moss Kanter's Men and Women of the Corporation (1977), a study of sex roles and ways in which opportunities for women are constrained by structure within a work setting. Kanter presents three variables as central explanatory dimensions of organizational behavior relating to sex roles: the structure of opportunity, the structure of power, and the proportional distribution of people in the organization.

According to Kanter, the structure of opportunity for mobility and growth is determined by such job characteristics as promotion rates and career paths opening from particular positions and access to challenge and incentives to meet these challenges. Kanter finds that people occupying positions high in opportunity for upward mobility tend to have high aspiration level and high self-esteem, consider work a more central life interest, express more commitment to the organization, and consider themselves members of the larger organization rather than the local unit.

The capacity of an individual to mobilize resources is referred to as power. Kanter explains that the structure of power is determined by formal job characteristics and informal alliances. Factors comprising the structure of power include: amount of discretion embedded in a job, visibility of function, approval by high status people,

mobility prospects of subordinates, and the existence of sponsors or mentors. Kanter finds that people high in organizational power tend to foster higher group morale, behave in less rigid and authoritarian ways, provide opportunities for subordinates to move along with them, and receive more communications in meetings.

Lastly, Kanter asserts that the proportion of social types (men, women, ethnic minorities) that occupy approximately the same position in an organization creates different "interaction contexts" for each social type.

These interaction contexts shape a participant's experience in an organization. For example, Kanter suggests that people whose type is represented in very high proportion would tend to: be easily seen as one of the group, find it easier to gain credibility, be more likely to join the informal network (learn the ropes from peers), be more likely to have a high status mentor (more people like them upward), and face less personal stress. Adaptation of Kanter's structural variables for the community college setting is discussed under the next heading, research design.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Comparative Case Study Approach

In order to generate hypotheses about community college organizational factors (structures and routines)

that may explain differential transfer rates by college, an exploratory multi-site case study of three California community colleges located in the Bay Area with varying transfer rates for Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites was conducted. Interviews, observations, document review, and student surveys were used to collect data on community college structures and routines from the perspective of staff, faculty, Hispanic students and non-Hispanic white students. While this study considers individual student attributes which may affect transfer outcomes, the focus is on organizational determinants (structures and routines) of institutional transfer rate.

Hispanic students targeted for study are of Mexican-American descent. In order to obtain comparable study sites, attempts were made to control for Hispanic student population attributes (e.g. student socio-economic status), community college size (total college enrollment), per cent Hispanic enrollment, geographical location, and proximity to a four-year college. All three community college study sites are in the mid-sized group of California community colleges. Student enrollment ranges from 7,000 to 10,000. They are all suburban community colleges in close proximity to a highly populated Hispanic community. They are all located within ten miles of a four-year college. Survey results at all three community college study sites indicate that Hispanic students

participating in the study are predominantly from low-income families, reporting smaller incomes and larger family size than non-Hispanic white students participating in the study.

Colleges selected for study exhibit low, high, or discrepant transfer rates, when compared to systemwide transfer percentages, for Hispanic and non-Hispanic white students. In other words, College Low has a low transfer rate for both Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites, College High has a high transfer rate for both Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites, and College Discrepant has a high transfer rate for non-Hispanic whites and a low transfer rate for Hispanics. The fourth potential category -- community colleges with a high transfer rate for Hispanics and a low transfer rate for non-Hispanic whites -- did not exist. Table 1 presents the 1982-1985 transfer percentages for Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites by study site:

Table 1

California Community College Study Sites

Transfer Percentages* by Ethnic Group: 1982-1985

	Non-Hispanic White	Hispanic
College Low	18%	11%
College High	39%	34%
College Discrepant	43%	19%
[Systemwide: all ethnic groups (35%)	39%	20%]

*These percentages are calculated from data provided by the California Postsecondary Education Commission (CPEC). In calculating transfer percentages, the actual number of transfer students (numerator) is divided by the pool of potential transfers (denominator). Problems exist with attempts to define the potential transfer pool but the CPEC data is used because it is the most accurate and accessible given the present state of data collection and knowledge of the transfer process.

Adapting Kanter's Structural Model

Kanter's model was used as a guide for data collection on organizational structures and processes within the three community college settings in this study. Data gathered from each college are then compared across colleges in order to determine the extent to which structures and routines exist in community colleges that may differentially affect Hispanic amd non-Hispanic white student intent to transfer. Examples of the adaptation to a community college setting of Kanter's structural

determinants (opportunity, power, and proportion) of organizational behavior in a corporation are provided in the following paragraphs:

Opportunity refers to expectations and future prospects. In a college setting opportunity relates to how students are placed within the college curriculum and the mobility prospects for students in varying locations. Since the study of the entire community college curriculum was not possible, the English curriculum and Nursing programs were chosen for review. Placement in English is important because English 1A is one of the courses students must complete to eventually obtain a degree from a four-year college.

Nursing programs were chosen as a vocational area to study in order to see how opportunity is structured in a vocational as opposed to a liberal arts disciplinary area. Also, a Nursing program existed on all three study sites; no other vocational program was common to all sites.

This paper will present results of data collected on opportunity structures provided across campuses by the English curriculum.

Power is defined by Kanter as the ability to mobilize resources. Kanter describes two routes to organizational power: activities and alliances. Data were collected on student participation in community college extra-curricular activities. For the student participant, such activities

obtain personal recognition and access to organizational decision-makers.

Another way to build power is through sponsorship or mentorship. Thus, data are collected on home, work and campus alliances which may assist students in the mobilization of campus resources.

The third structural variable in Kanter's model is proportions or representation which refers to "the social composition of people in approximately the same situation." For the purpose of this study, the proportion of Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites within the community college student body and within the English and the Nursing classes I had access to was noted. Possible effects of these contexts as mentioned by community college students, staff, and faculty are discussed.

RESULTS

Results reported here are primarily from structured interview data and a review of college brochures, catalogs, and class schedules. Thirty-five interviews were conducted at College Low, forty-one interviews at College High, and forty-five interviews at College Discrepant. Each interview took approximately forty-five minutes to complete. Faculty, administrative staff, Hispanic and non-Hispanic white students were interviewed at each community college study site.

Curriculum Options For Remediation

The structure of opportunity provided by the English curriculum differs in each of the community college study sites. At all study sites, few Hispanic students, if any, are enrolled in advanced courses within the English curriculum. Most Hispanic students are located at the basic or remedial levels of the English curriculum. Limited opportunity for challenge at the basic levels of the curriculum is exemplified by this College High faculty member's comment:

> The (remedial English) class is so basic, students often are not given the challenge which makes them realize that they have more going for them than they thought.
>
> College High
> English Faculty Member

A College Discrepant faculty member has this to say about the status of remedial English courses in the curriculum:

> (English) 110 is remedial and not transferable ...No one would take it if they didn't have to and no one would teach it if they didn't have to.
>
> College Discrepant
> English Faculty Member

The importance of increased opportunity for learning offered by higher level English curriculum placement is expressed by this Hispanic student enrolled in an Honors class at College High:

> I didn't like English at first. Now, I read poetry. In the Honors program, those teachers really know how to stimulate students...We do not just go over the book but cover things in greater depth and breadth. You get to know the Honors students. It's not real social, but more of an academic relationship.
>
> College High
> Hispanic Student

According to the English faculty interviewed at each community college site, Hispanic students are overrepresented in lower level remedial English courses and are underrepresented in higher level transferable English courses. Thus, remedial courses must be designed to successfully stimulate both the remedial student and the faculty who teach remedial courses. Such a situation appears to exist on the College High campus.

A major English curriculum difference at College High when compared with College Low and College Discrepant is the existence of a remedial course which is especially tailored for the Hispanic student requiring remedial work in English. This course is taught by three Hispanic faculty members and runs for two semesters, a full academic year. The course moves students from a remedial level (6th, 7th grade reading level) through English 1A in two semesters. It takes three semesters to accomplish this for students in the regular remedial English sequence with the student switching classes each semester. In addition to writing papers which incorporate their life experiences, students in the Targeted English course are introduced to

the vocabulary of an academic setting. Terms such as "unit" , "major", "AA degree", and "BA degree" are explained to the students. A counselor assigned to the class in order to explain such things as the registration and transfer processes of the college. Hispanic professionals from the local community are brought in to the class to talk with the students and introduce them to various career options. Forty Hispanic students per year are placed in this Targeted English Course which has been in existence at College High for the last four years. Over the last two years, about twenty Targeted English students have transferred from College High to four-year colleges. One Hispanic student at College High comments on her participation in the Targeted English class:

> The (Targeted English class) was helpful. They (instructors) asked if we needed extra help and gave us extra help.
>
> College High
> Hispanic Student

No remedial course such as the Targeted English course at College High exists at either of the other community colleges. No Hispanic is on the English instructional staff at College Discrepant or College Low. However, a curriculum option for remediation occurs at College Discrepant in an Outreach Program. Classes are offered at a high school site located in a largely Hispanic community. While this program is meant, in part, to provide a bridge from the Hispanic community to College Discrepant, the

content of the curriculum is not targeted to appeal directly to the Hispanic community. College Low has no special curriculum option for remediation targeted for groups with special needs. Thus, College High seems to offer more opportunities for advancement in the English curriculum for Hispanic students who, after assesssment, usually place at the remedial level. Advanced opportunities for upward mobility, according to Kanter, then translates into higher aspiration levels for people and more expressed commitment to the organization. The Targeted English option in the College High curriculum may promote such upward mobility. Hispanic students participating in remedial English courses, other than the Targeted English course, comment on their experiences:

> The first semester, it was hard doing homework and assignments. It's still difficult...I was not familiar with the word, "major." I asked myself, What's a major? What are they talking about?
>
> College High
> Hispanic Student

> I've been here six or seven weeks and I ask, realistically what's an AA going to do for me?
>
> College High
> Hispanic Student

Some students from the Targeted English class have and will drop out of school but those that stay appear to make timely progress toward completing their college programs and many students do eventually transfer to four-year colleges, according to the Targeted English faculty and

College High administrators. Efforts are underway to assess the academic progress over time of students comparable to the Targeted English population but participating in the regular remedial English sequence.

Interinstitutional Transfer Linkages:

It Takes Two To Transfer

Student movement from two- to four-year colleges is assisted by the articulation of both college curriculum structures. The articulation officer at each college is an organizational bridge between the community college and the four-year institutions. Community college articulation officers correspond and meet with counterparts at four-year colleges in order to arrive at articulation agreements which the four-year schools use to grant course credit for classes taken at the community college. In addition to their work with four-year colleges, articulation officers at College High and College Discrepant mention beginning to work with feeder high schools to articulate high school courses with community college courses. High school credits then can be used to fulfill community college requirements.

Articulation officers interviewed are part of the counseling services department. At all community college study sites, the articulation function is handled by the student services area and not the instructional

administration area. Officers have other duties to perform and the articulation function is, at most, a half-time job assignment. Informal interactions between two-year and four-year college representatives, as described by community college articulation officers, seem to have an impact on the institutional transfer process.

In addition to differing curriculum options for remediation, each study site seems to be embedded in a routinized network of relationships with four-year colleges. This network of relationships may differentially affect the shape of the opportunity structure for student transfer at the three community colleges in the study.

Four-year colleges seem to respond more favorably to curricular articulation with community colleges having a high student transfer record and less favorably to such arrangements with community colleges having a low student transfer record. The transfer status of a community college may, in part, be perpetuated by the historical relationship of the two-year college with four-year colleges already in its network of transfer options. Along with other factors affecting the transfer of Hispanic students versus non-Hispanic white students from two- to four-year colleges, a community college's historical interinstitutional linkages with four-year colleges may play a part.

The following quotes by college articulation officers elaborate on these interinstitutional linkages:

> (We) contact individual campuses for course by course articulation. We send our course outline to the institution and the faculty look at it.
>
> (There are) no articulation agreements with all California State Colleges or University of California campuses because we don't send anyone to some of the campuses, like (names one four-year state college). At (this four-year state college) we don't have course specific agreements just general education agreements. We can certify forty-eight units for general education at (state college system).
>
> (As another example), we have course specific agreements with certain departments of (another four-year state college) but not all of (the departments of this four-year state college). Some of them (four-year colleges) don't think their staff time is of use because we don't send them many students. For example, I've sent five letters to (four-year university) and they've never responded.
>
> Articulation Officer
> Half-Time
> College Low

Another articulation officer states:

> (One four-year university) is very active in communicating with community colleges in establishing course by course agreements. (We have agreements) with (this four-year university) biology, math, engineering, and physics departments. We don't have this with a lot of campuses. There are some campuses that we have a lot of difficulty with in terms of "is your course equivalent to my course?"
>
> I spend more of my time on campuses where most of our students go--campuses that are very close and that I can telephone such as (near-by four-year university). If only two students go there a year such as (far-away four-year university), I'm not going to spend sixty hours to work on an

> agreement. I must spend the time where most needed.

And finally College High Articulation Officer adds:

> (We) do concentrated articulation with near-by colleges:(seven four-year state colleges listed). These colleges would be the ones I would concentrate on first simply because that's where our students tend to go.

Based on the comments of the three college articulation officers, the transfer network (ties between two-year and four-year colleges) seem to be routinized at each college. In other words, once a successful connection is made between a four-year and a two-year college, then that connection is strengthened by communications between the articulation officers. Students then successfully use this connecting bridge and this use furthur strengthens the tie between the two- and four-year college involved. Other potential ties are not pursued.

Could it be then that the choice of a community college is also a choice of the four-year college a student is likely to attend? In other words, even though theoretically all choices are open to students, are all choices equally probable? It seems that it would be easier to transfer to schools that already have strong ties with a particular community college, the next step being determined largely by where you are at the moment. Counselors, other students, and faculty may encourage

students to transfer to these well articulated colleges because students go there with little or no trouble. The whole process becomes part of a regular routine and is institutionalized. This routine may not be consciously known by the organizational actors but it reinforces the present transfer connections of the college and the trajectory of their students. Thus, the transfer status of a community college is perpetuated not only by individual differences in terms of student capability but also is reinforced by the historical relationship of the two-year college with four-year colleges already in its network of options. So, a choice of a community college is also a choice that leads the student into the interorganizational transfer network of that college.

Mobilizing Resources Through Sponsorship

One way to build power or the ability to mobilize resources, according to Kanter, is through sponsorship or mentorship. Sponsors have prior successful experience in an organization and are in a position to train others to move effectively through the system. Power generated through social connections with peers and subordinates is also noted by Kanter. In order to be effective, Kanter indicates that social connections with sponsors, peers, and subordinates need to be long term and stable. Adaptation of Kanter's theory of power to an educational setting leads

this study to the findings discussed here.

First, few Hispanic students interviewed come from families who have had successful experiences in education. Most Hispanic student parents have not attended college, some did not complete high school. Thus, mentorship through the educational system from family does not exist for the typical Hispanic student interviewed in this study. On the other hand, such mentorship typically exists for the non-Hispanic White student interviewed. This pattern was found at all community college study sites.

Second, without such mentorship, students rely on the community college for direction. Interviews indicate that the possibilites of establishing the stable and long term social connections described by Kanter may be limited due to the dynamic, ever-fluctuating environment of the community college. However, interviews also indicate that institutional response to a transitory environment may be a more important factor in promoting student academic progress than the environment itself. The presence of vehicles for student-school linkages differs by community college study site.

Third, findings also indicate that on campus employment may be beneficial in training students to effectively use the system.

All of the above factors affect students in each of the community college settings studied but, because of the

lack of family mentors, such factors may add to the cumulative disadvantage of the Hispanic versus non-Hispanic white student.

Study results indicate the existence of a complex set of networks and connections which influence the individual and institutional ability of community colleges to mobilize resources to promote student transfer from study sites to four-year colleges. Categories for each set of networks outlined in this paper are: family factors, work-related factors, and transitory environment.

Family Factors

Under family factors, level of parent education and experience with an academic setting is explored. Most Hispanic students indicate a lack of awareness of various options that exist at a community college. Generally, the level of parent education is lower for Hispanic student families (parents and siblings) than for non-Hispanic white student families. Also, Hispanic students are expected to contribute financially to the family after dropping out of high school or after high school completion. Many Hispanic females interviewed also say that they are expected to remain at home and are not encouraged to pursue higher education.

Generally, families of Hispanic students interviewed and surveyed for this study have attended school and

college at lower rates than the families of non-Hispanic white students interviewed and surveyed. According to staff at each community college site, this lack of experience with educational institutions, on the part of parents, hampers the ability of Hispanic students to use the resources available to them at the community college site. As one College Low Hispanic administrator states:

> White students, in general, are much more decisive (then Hispanic students) about what they see as their educational goals. (They) are often quite informed and just want more specific information. With less educational background, there is less awareness.

An Hispanic faculty member at College High, makes this comment:

> Limited information (about educational opportunities) is given at home. This is not to say that there isn't encouragement but actual information is lacking.
>
> For Hispanics, to go to community college is a major step in itself. For some families, just graduating from high school is a big step.

At College Discrepant, this comment is made by an Hispanic staff member:

> We're talking about a completely foreign environment. That's why Hispanic students don't come here.

Finally, a non-Hispanic White faculty member makes the following statements about Hispanic students at College Discrepant. He indicates that attending a postsecondary institution may be stressful for all students but may be more so for the Hispanic student due to few Hispanic

students enrolled, differing family expectations and the make-up of the college faculty:

> It's a different environment than they (Hispanics) are used to without many pals. To go off to college is always a little uncertain, unsteadying. Whites may well do that because it is expected (by parents).
>
> For Chicanos, going to college is not expected at all. For them, it is a very tentative effort. It's hard to make sense of what goes on in college. It's not clear to any of us. It's not a scene that they can quite recognize.
>
> On the instructional side, for Anglo instructors, it's not an easy rapport. Their backgrounds are significantly different from the Chicano students. Their instructor doesn't know where they come from.

However, when a member of an Hispanic student's family has postsecondary educational experience, the family member can become an important source of information such as the following comments from an Hispanic Honors student at College High indicates:

> My father is a college graduate...He had to work his way through. He wants me to learn how to appreciate education...I'd like to have a job like my Dad but want more out of it...

When this student was asked if he had a mentor or sponsor, someone who takes a special interest in his work and academic progress at College High, he responds:

> My father is my mentor (although) the teachers are always very kind. They talk with me and advise me.

Other Hispanic students describe the following home situations:

> See the Mexican or Hispanic family -- the father is up at five in the morning (and is) back at six pm; (He) eats, sleeps, and talks with friends. (For the) Mom, it's the same thing -- and they don't have communication with them (their kids). They don't encourage them to study and make dreams for themselves. They say, "When you finish high school, you'll be with us working." He (the child) feels responsible to do it even if his parents don't say it, he sees others.
>
> Hispanic Student
> College Discrepant

> My parents don't believe you can make it. Especially a girl. They feel at eighteen you should be married. But that's not for me. They don't provide the learning environment. No money, no books. I understand how they are. It was how I was brought up. And why should parents believe that their children can make it?
>
> Hispanic Student
> College High

> No one in my family has gone to college. They didn't even go to high school.
>
> Hispanic Student
> College Low

Compared to Hispanic student responses, non-Hispanic white student responses describe family situations that are more conducive to student participation in higher education.

> I've always known that I was going to college. My parents always strongly recommended that I go to college; to community college for at least a year or two and at least try it.
>
> Non-Hispanic White Student
> College High

> The norm was you go to school and then you go to college. My parents just expected me to.
>
> Non-Hispanic White Student
> College Low

> Both parents are college grads...My parents always said they would put me through college. They are verbally and emotionally supportive.
>
> Non-Hispanic White Student
> College Discrepant

Work-Related Factors: On-Campus Employment

Most community college students work either full- or part-time. Comments by students in this study indicate that an on-campus work setting provides more of an opportunity to obtain knowledge of college organizational routines which enhances student ability to use campus resources. Most students have off-campus jobs. However, on-campus employment may be especially beneficial to Hispanic students who may lack informal sources of information, such as friends and family, on how to use college resources. The following student comment illustrates the potential benefits of on-campus student employment:

> I just started working on campus this semester. I worked off-campus before. It (working on-campus) helps focus. I can stay in school more and get involved and do other things rather than having to leave and go to work somewhere else. The Admissions job is helping me find out more about the school and how it runs. You have more contact with the students. The lady there (in admissions) is helping me. She actually does certification of lower division general education. She knows what you need to take (to fulfill requirements).

For the student whose connections toward the school are not fostered by family, friends, or the off-campus work environment, an on-campus job with an active mentoring component may be one way to bridge the gap between student and community college.

Transitory Environment

Kanter states that low opportunity and powerlessness "constitute self-perpetuating systems with links that can be broken only from the outside." She also states that in order to be effective, social connections with sponsors need to be long term and stable. Thus, if neither the family situation nor the work environment provide the student with resources to increase opportunity and power, then direct institutional intervention may be necessary. However, according to several interview statements, the two-year community college system itself may be a difficult environment within which to influence student level of awareness of opportunities and resources at his/her disposal. Community college administrators and students mention that most students are part-time and have other responsibilities (family and employment) besides class work, and are extremely mobile. Faculty mention the tenuous nature of Hispanic student enrollment in postsecondary education and the need for a nurturing

environment to foster their continued enrollment.

According to many interviewed for this study, the transitory nature of the community college setting makes it difficult to maintain contact with a student over a period of time. These difficulties may affect students that are most in need of institutional intervention. One College High administrator comments on the high level of student turnover: "Fifty per cent of our students are new every semester. They come and go very rapidly."

Respondents realize that not everyone enrolls at the community college with the intention of transfer to a four-year college. However, they point out limitations that their community college must contend with when providing student instructional and administrative services, particularly when attempting to identify ethnic minority students who might not be thinking of transfer but may have the potential to transfer and might chose to do so if the opportunity arose.

For example, a College Low administrator describes the lack of part-time student and faculty involvement with the institution as one community college organizational factor presenting a barrier to the "resocialization" of Hispanic students to facilitate their participation in higher education.

> It is difficult to widen someone's horizons. You have to stay with a student over a period of time.

> This is hard for a community college to do. From the point of view of services, it is hard on a continuing basis to provide that at a community college. The commuter aspect, part-timeness of students and faculty, randomness, the lack of a cohort and a transfer faculty.
>
> You need to stay with a student to broaden their horizons. You're resocializing that person. To do this you need contact with that person.....We've (college services) assumed that if a student needs information that they would make an appointment.
>
> That's a shaky assumption. We do not have students that are coming from a generation of college graduates.
>
> Hispanic Administrator
> College Low

Given the transitory nature of the community college environment as described above, institutional structures which appear to strengthen or weaken student-school connections differ across study sites.

Inability to make and sustain contact with students is exacerbated, according to several College Low administrators, is due to the lack of vehicles for student-school linkages on their campus. For example, College Low has no new student orienation and student newspaper. Also mentioned as another problem for College Low is that the majority of the student body attends the college in the evening.

Interview and document review data suggest that College High and College Discrepant have more organizational structures or vehicles for communication with their student body whereas College Low appears to

lack such a set of potential student-school linkages. However, Fall census data, as indicated in Table 2, reveal that College Low has a higher part-time and evening student body than either College High or College Discrepant. This situation may exacerbate the effects of a transitory environment for College Low when compared with the other colleges study sites. It could also be that the smaller total enrollment at College High plays a part in that institution's capability to make and sustain connections with their student body. Also, recall that the California Postsecondary Commission (CPEC) indicates that full-time students are more likely to transfer than part-time students. While CPEC does not list day or evening status as a consideration, this may be a factor particularly affecting transfer at College Low.

Table 2
Per Cent Part-Time and Evening Enrollment
By Community College Study Site
From Fall 1986 First Census Data

	College Low	College High	College Discreapant
Total Enrollment	9,702	7,165	10,804
Part-Time	87%	75%	73%
Full-Time	13%	25%	27%
Evening	61%	40%	28%

Thus, while College High and College Discrepant have substantial numbers of evening and part-time students,

College Low has more students in these categories. The largest discrepancy, however, is in the evening student enrollment. Interview data further describing this environment and organizational structures that promote student-school linkages across colleges will now be presented.

The following Hispanic administrator comments on College Low's lack of information vehicles and possible consequences for Hispanic students:

> Hispanic students very often are uninformed or partially informed...
>
> Part of the problem may be that we don't have a student newspaper which is a good vehicle for getting information out. There is no student lounge. There is an ASB (Associated Student Body) but not in a central point. There are no central bulletin areas. This may contribute to the lack of information for students. We finally do have a brochure this fall that lists all of our services. We don't have mandatory orientation. .
>
> Hispanic Administrator
> College Low

By contrast, both College High and College Discrepant have a new student orientation and a student newspaper as information vehicles for the colleges. These colleges also have several active student clubs including a Mexican-American student club.

A College High Administrator describes the formal orientation for new students at College High:

> Students come in and apply to us. We tell them about orientation, counseling, and testing. Now, the school (College High) has moved from an

> in-house test and an in-house orientation tape to the Stanford Diagnostic Placement Test and a professionally done orientation film. The orientation consists of a videotape that tells them the basics of college. They also see a counselor and get programmed (signed up for classes).
>
> Non-Hispanic White Administrator
> College High

However, these formal school-student links do not insure student participation. As one College Discrepant administrator says:

> The student newspaper comes out once every two weeks. (It) won a national award for a small newspaper. (Regardless,) there is no easy way to get information out with a partial or part-time population.
>
> Non-Hispanic White Administrator
> College Discrepant

The nature of the community college setting effects all students. However, those students with fewer connections to higher education through family, may be more adversely effected by such an environment. Training in how to effectively use community college resources may be more apparent to students whose social linkages include people who have successfully participated in educational settings. Comments by the following Hispanic staff at College High illustrate this point:

> With more education, there is more awareness. If you are higher income and educated. It is expected that you will go to college. We live in a professionally oriented world. We are exposed to it --where we go, what we do, what we talk about. I tell my children, your

cousin is on Channel (X), she is an anchor woman. Your Aunt Mary is going to college and so is Mark, (a family friend). It's an every day lifestyle thing. To us, this is normal.

Before I went to college, I didn't even hear it (the word college) mentioned once. I never heard of one. I never went near one.

Hispanic Administrator
College High

Coming to community college is a major step for us (Hispanics who usually do not continue their education past high school). This is why it is critical to nurture the Hispanics who do make it to community college.

Hispanic Faculty Member
College High

Proportions: The Student Body And Individual Classroom

Examination of the composition of the college student bodies for Fall 1986 reveals differences by study site (see Table 3).

Table 3
Enrollment Data by College
Per Cent Student Types
Study Sites-Fall 1986

	College Low	College High	College Discrepant
Total Enrollment	9,702	7,165	10,804
% Hispanic Enrollment	10.1%	16.9%	8.3%
% Non-Hispanic White Enrollment	44.5%	29.7%	85.1%
%Other Non-White Enrollment	36.8%	35.5%	6.0%

College Low and College High have more ethnically diverse student bodies, while College Discrepant is

primarily non-Hispanic white with one ethnic student population -- the Hispanic population. Student enrollment at College Discrepant exhibits the skewed proportional representation as defined by Kanter. According to Kanter, skewed groups have a large preponderance of one visible social type over another placing the larger group in the dominant position and the smaller group in the position of token. Being in a token group promotes feelings of isolation and personal stress among members according to Kanter.

College High and College Low represent more "tilted" groupings using Kanter's term. Kanter asserts that, in tilted groups, minority members can affect the culture of the group. Using Kanter's theory of proportions, these figures would predict that outcomes for the college with similar representation of ethnic groups would produce similar outcomes for each ethnic group, whereas a very unbalanced representation would produce outcomes which are unequally distributed between ethnic groups. According to Kanter, "less extreme distributions have less exaggerated effects."

Transfer outcomes for Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites are similar for College High and College Low, whereas transfer outcomes, for these ethnic groups, are dissimilar for College Discrepant.

However, results on the effect of proportions are not clear in the interviews analyzed, although faculty, staff, and student comments lend support for Kanter's theory of proportions and its effect on individual behavior. For instance, Hispanic students interviewed at College Discrepant do express intense feelings of alienation and isolation moreso than Hispanic students at College High or College Low.

Hispanic students at College Discrepant make the following comments:

> For me, (being at College Discrepant) was discouraging, something out of your hands. You don't see Mexicans here, you feel out of place here.
>
> Hispanic Male

> It's scary to be here.
>
> Hispanic Female

None of the Hispanic students interviewed identify themselves with College Discrepant as noted in some of the comments of non-Hispanic White students:

> Here, students are encouraged to do better. We have a hand-picked faculty. There are quite a few PHDs.
>
> Non-Hispanic White Female

> People are really open here.
>
> Non-Hispanic White Female

> Our class has been very supportive from the very beginning. There is peer group support.

The use of the word "we" to refer to the student body and the word "our" to refer to class cohesiveness is not heard when speaking to any of the Hispanic students interviewed at College Discrepant. Statements made by non-Hispanic White students seem to reflect more of a sense of "belonging" or "ownership" than statements made by Hispanic students.

Hispanic students interviewed at College High do not express feelings of alienation and isolation as do Hispanic students interviewed at College Discrepant. On the other hand, they do not express the strong sense of ownership as expressed by non-Hispanic White students at College Discrepant either. However, some Hispanic faculty and staff indicate that such feelings do exist among Hispanic students at College High. For example, a Hispanic faculty member at College High makes the following comment:

> Hispanic students do not use campus services to the same degree as other students. They do not feel comfortable and feel alienation. They perceive that services are not for them.

Interviews of Hispanic students and non-Hispanic White students at College Low, as in College High, produced a similar absence of comment on feelings of alienation or belonging.

It is also interesting to note that when classroom level proportions are examined at all study sites, few Hispanic students, if any, are enrolled in advanced courses in the English curriculum. Most Hispanic students are

located at the basic levels of the English curriculum. Thus, Hispanics are in "token" positions in advanced English courses on all campuses regardless of student body composition. However, being a part of a more diverse student body as in College High and College Low may lessen the "token" effect of proportions for Hispanic students in these classes. More work needs to be done in order to examine the potential effect of proportions on student transfer outcomes.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

While the focus of this exploratory study is on the identification of organizational factors that may facilitate or inhibit Hispanic student transfer, results suggest that it is the cumulative effect of many factors, individual and organizational, which produce an organizational outcome such as differential transfer by Hispanic and non-Hispanic white students in the three suburban community colleges studied. Study findings underscore the need for researchers and policy-makers to view low Hispanic student transfer as both an individual and an organizational problem. The problem solution may lie in understanding how both sets of factors contribute to the production of an undesirable outcome.

However, it is the cumulative effect of all of the factors, and probably others not discussed in this paper,

that may produce the differential transfer by ethnic groups studied. The following table identifies the factors that appear to influence the general level of transfers for all groups on each community college campus and factors that appear to differentially influence the level of transfers for varying ethnic groups.

Many of the individual and organizational factors discussed in this paper appear to affect both Hispanic and non-Hispanic white students in the community colleges studied. However, the cumulative effect of such factors, and probably others not discussed in this work, may produce differential transfer by ethnic groups studied. The following tables identify factors that appear to influence the general level of transfers for all groups on each community college campus and factors that appear to differentially influence the level of transfers by ethnic group. These community college characteristics are broadly categorized using an adaptation of Kanter's structural model of organizational behavior as described earlier.

Table 4

Summary: Structure of Opportunity in a Community College Setting

	College High			College Low			College Discrepant		
	NHW	H	G	NHW	H	G	NHW	H	G
CURRICULAR STRUCTURE OF OPPORTUNITY									
Remedial Curriculum Option:									
English	o	+	o	o	o	o	+/o	+/o	+/o
Hispanic Faculty:									
English	o	+	o	o	-	o	o	-	o
Transfer Linkages	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+

+= factor may have a positive influence on transfer for this group

-= factor may have a negative influence on transfer for this group

o= factor may have no influence on transfer for this group

NHW= non-Hispanic White
H= Hispanic
G= General Student Body

Table 5

Summary: Organizational Power in Community Colleges

	College High			College Low			College Discrepant		
	NHW	H	G	NHW	H	G	NHW	H	G
FAMILY FACTORS:									
Parent-School Links	+	-	?	+	-	?	+	-	?
Demands on Females	+	-	?	+	-	?	+	-	?
Demands For Financial Support	+	-	?	+	-	?	+	-	?
Parent Income	+	-	?	+	-	?	+	-	?
Family Size	+	-	?	+	-	?	+	-	?
WORK-RELATED FACTORS:									
Most Work at least Part-Time	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Most Work Off-Campus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TRANSITORY ENVIRONMENT:									
Over 50% Enrollment Evening	o	o	o	-	-	-	o	o	o
Over 70% Enrollment Part-Time	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Student-School Linkages	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+

+= factor may have a positive influence on transfer for this group

-= factor may have a negative influence on transfer for this group

o= factor may have no influence on transfer for this group

?= unknown

n/a = not applicable

NHW= non-Hispanic White
H= Hispanic
G= General Student Body

Table 6

Summary: Student Body and Classroom Proportions

	College High			College Low			College Discrepant		
	NHW	H	G	NHW	H	G	NHW	H	G
STUDENT BODY PROPORTIONS									
Predominantly Non-Hispanic White	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	+	-	+
Ethnically Diverse Student Body	+	+	+	+	+	+	n/a	n/a	n/a
CLASSROOM REPRESENTATION									
Predominantly Non-Hispanics In Advanced English Courses	+	-	?	+	-	?	+	-	?

+= factor may have a positive influence on transfer for this group

-= factor may have a negative influence on transfer for this group

o= factor may have no influence on transfer for this group

?= unknown

n/a = not applicable

NHW= non-Hispanic White
H= Hispanic
G= General Student Body

Description of Summary Tables for College High

Based on the study results presented in Tables 4, 5, and 6, it appears that family factors (e.g. level of parent education) and strong transfer linkages may facilitate the transfer of non-Hispanic white students at College High whereas the presence of the Targeted English course taught by Hispanic faculty members along with strong transfer linkages appear to favorably assist Hispanic student academic progress at College High. No such course exists at the other community college study sites. Only College High has Hispanic faculty in the English program.

Since Hispanic students tend to place in remedial level English courses, the Targeted English course may act as an "opportunities equalizer." Also, Targeted English may provide the close mentor relationships for Hispanic students whose parents do not have strong connections toward school.

The data also suggest that transfer for the general student body at College High may be negatively influenced by the numbers of students working off-campus and the 70+ percent part-time enrollment.

Description of Summary Tables for College Low

Level of family education and knowledge of educational processes also suggest a positive influence for the transfer of College Low non-Hispanic white students when compared with College Low Hispanic students participating in this study. However, many factors appear in College Low that may negatively influence the general level of transfer for all student groups at College Low. These factors include: weak transfer linkages, the high proportion of students working off-campus, over 50% enrollment evening, over 70% part-time student enrollment, and lack of student orientation services.

Evening and part-time enrollments are proportionally higher for College Low when compared with College High and College Discrepant. Also, College Low lacks a remedial option in the English curriculum, a new student orientation, a student newspaper, and the presence of a Mexican-American student club. These features are present at the other community college study sites.

Finally, College Low appears to have weak transfer links when compared with the two other college study sites. The above listed features may contribute to the low transfer rate for the general student body at College Low. Moreover, when added to the limited educational experience

of Hispanic student parents and the lack of Hispanic faculty in English, such factors may act in a cumulative way to further depress transfer for Hispanics at College Low.

Description of Summary Tables for College Discrepant

For College Discrepant, the influence of the Outreach Program on the transfer potential of students interviewed in the course is unclear. Although administrative leaders have made a commitment to provide courses in the near-by Hispanic community, such courses may not affect Hispanic student transfer as strongly as the targeted on-site effort of College High.

Positive influences on the transfer of non-Hispanic whites at College Discrepant appears to be strong transfer linkages with four-year colleges, family factors (level of parent education), and the high representation of non-Hispanic whites in the student body. While strong transfer linkages may positively influence the transfer of Hispanics as well as other students, the negative effect of lower levels of reported parent education and the isolating influence of the "token" position may outweigh the positive effect of strong transfer institutional transfer linkages for this group. These factors, along with factors that may negatively influence the general level of transfer for all

student groups at College Discrepant, such as work off-campus and over 70% part-time enrollment, may act in a cumulative way to work against the transfer of Hispanics.

In conclusion, structural characteristics of community college study sites may affect the entire student body. However, potential negative effects may compound the disadvantages affecting Hispanic students when added to other pressures experienced in greater numbers by members of the Hispanic community. In other words, for the Hispanic student, it may be the cumulative effect of many sets of factors, rather than a single set of factors, some of which are shared by the general student community, that provides the greatest deterrent to the accomplishment of educational goals.

Issues and Implications for Further Research

More research needs to be done in order to determine the strength of a cumulative deficit theory in predicting differential transfer by Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites systemwide. For example, interinstitutional transfer links may have a differential effect on the transfer of Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites if, systemwide, community colleges with weak transfer links are also high Hispanic enrollment schools. Also, for each factor presented in the above

tables, the influence of a given negative value on whites and Hispanics may differ due to the different proportions of the two groups in those affected categories. For example, poor transfer links may hurt both non-Hispanic white and Hispanic students but Hispanics may be more likely to wish to use the community college as a transfer opportunity. These propositions, and others mentioned here, merit further research.

While study findings cannot conclusively be said to be the determinants of differing community college transfer rates, they identify similar and distinguishing features associated across each of the three community college study sites. Further research is needed, however, to determine if these and/or another set of factors can predict the organizational structural and procedural configuration that will facilitate higher transfer rates for all students, for Hispanics in particular. In other words, do these identified patterns hold for other community college settings and, if they do, how are they related to differential transfer rates? As Kanter (1977) points out:

> Though the hypothesized associations between each variable and its correlates can be identified, cause and effect are difficult to untangle, because structure and behavior are related in an interacting, rather than a static way.

For example, in this study, strong and weak interinstitutional transfer linkages are associated with differing community college transfer rates. However, do

few transfers lead to a poor community college transfer record and weak transfer linkages; or does a poor transfer record lead to difficulty in transferring?

Kanter contends that:

> Feedback loops connect position and response. Those with opportunity are thereby induced to behave in ways that generate more opportunity, which, in turn, produces further inducement for the behavior...
>
> The feedback between structure and behavior can produce upward cycles of advantage, or downward cycles of disadvantage. And it is hard for a person to break out of the cycle, once begun.

As it is difficult for a person to break out of a cycle of disadvantage, so it is hard for an organization to break out of a pattern of weak transfer links and begin to build strong transfer connections with four-year institutions. For one thing, the four-year colleges must assist the two-year colleges in this endeavor. As illustrated here, Kanter's structural determinants theory is very useful for the interpretation of study findings. Her model would continue to be useful in conducting further research suggested here.

A limitation of this study is that the cross sectional design provides a static view of a dynamic process. Lack of knowledge of individual and organizational factors affecting the student transfer process prior to data collection presents problems when interpreting the results of this analysis. It is difficult to make causal

interpretations or inferences from the relationships found. This is of particular concern when comparisons are made across study sites. It is possible that causal dynamics may be different for each community college site.

In order to provide information on causal effects of organizational and student level characteristics on student transfer, it is essential to conduct a longitudinal study that combines structural with individual level data. Community college students could then be tracked through actual transfer or non-transfer providing an accurate documention of the process. This individual level data could then be combined with organizational level data for more conclusive identification of institutional differences having an effect on actual transfer for Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites.

Study results also point to a need to assess barriers to the academic progress of evening students, since evening student enrollment was an important organizational feature exhibited by College Low. Evening students are underrepresented in this study. Study to further assess the effect of being a "token" in advanced coursework and being overrepresented in remedial work would also be useful in continuing to elaborate on educational processes for Hispanic students, as would a study to assess the long-term effects across campuses of programs such as Targeted English.

Implications for Educational Policy

Study results point to the dynamic interplay of individual and organizational factors that may contribute to the production of differing organizational transfer rates for Hispanic and non-Hispanic white community college students. Community colleges can do little to immediately close the socio-economic gap between Hispanic and non-Hispanic white students found in this study. On the other hand, if patterns identified in this study are correct, findings have implications for organizational changes that can be made by educational institutions in order to facilitate the transfer of Hispanic students despite their lower socio-economic status. While several organizational differences among study sites are noted in the summary of findings section, two areas for policy consideration will be presented here. One set of observations concerns the interinstitutional opportunity structure exhibited by study sites while the other set of observations concerns the importance of providing a nurturing, but "fast track" experience for remedial students.

An Interinstitutional Perspective: It Takes Two To Transfer

If the interinstitutional transfer patterns described here are correct, institutions of higher education (both

two- and four-year) need to be aware of the importance of institutional linkages in affecting student transfer. Broadening connections among colleges also broadens the educational horizon of individuals within higher education institutions. Thus, broadening student horizons can be done at the individual level and at the organizational level. Faculty, staff, and "transfer-knowledgeable" students may discuss and promote a wide array of four-year college options to new students, while college representatives (both two- and four-year) can be opening, developing, and strengthening a wide array of interinstitutional ties. As the articulation officer at College Low says, "Students don't know about it (the articulation process), they just benefit from it."

Four-year postsecondary institutions also need to examine their outreach efforts to "low transfer" and/or high Hispanic enrollment community colleges. It may be necessary to expend more effort in outreach to these community college sites in order to encourage their transfer efforts. Changes in the articulation process described here will require breaking well established interinstitutional routines. This will take time and focused, sustained effort.

An Institutional Perspective

If the curricular pattern identified at College High is as effective in preparing Hispanic students for transfer as the interview data suggest, then a mandatory placement testing effort coupled with curricular efforts targeted to raise the performance level of Hispanic students may be beneficial. Such a process is illustrated by the Targeted English effort at College High. This course appears to provide both a nurturing and challenging atmosphere for Hispanic students who need remediation. Hispanic students enrolled in Targeted English score at the sixth or seventh grade reading level. Faculty who teach the College High course are Hispanic and have at least a master's degree. They encourage students by sharing their own life experiences and by requiring more writing assignments than are required in the regular remedial English curriculum. Students participating in this course are, in a sense, "fast-tracked." Faculty and administrator comments indicate that Targeted English students move from a remedial to a college level pace at a faster rate than other similarly placed students who participate in other courses.

In addition academic benefits for most Hispanic student participants, the Targeted English model also

provides a "social bridge" component that extends out into the community. Hispanic professionals residing in the community give presentations to students and also act as mentors to students interested in their profession. The course is enough to begin to attract relatives and friends of former students. Such links with the Hispanic community can promote more participation in higher education.

Finally, according to English faculty comments, administrators implementing a curricular effort such as Targeted English on a wide scale may need to work against the low prestige image attributed to faculty who teach remedial courses and to students who take them. In other words, the rewards for good teaching seem to be teaching assignments in English Literature rather than continued teaching at the Writing For Improvement level. If this is the case, incentives and rewards need to be provided to attract and retain talented faculty who teach remedial level courses. The challenge for corporations, as described by Kanter, may also allude to a similar challenge for all institutions of higher education, including community colleges:

> The challenge for contemporary organizations involves simultaneously opening opportunities for the disadvantaged and also reducing the emphasis on mobility for the advantaged, substituting other rewards and values, and making them real through organizational design.

Kanter also states that individuals have an ability to positively respond to more opportunity despite personal disadvantages, and that organizations have the power to raise and lower opportunity for individuals:

> Tracking occurs, of course, even before people enter organizations...and this can effect initial placement decisions. Individual characteristics and the nature of external social ties also play a part.
>
> But even so, there is striking flexibility in people to adapt to their situations, and there is striking power in organizations to raise or dash hopes.

Effective solutions to the underrepresentation of Hispanic students transferring from two- to four-year colleges will require changes on the part of the individual actors involved as well as changes on the part of the organizational actors involved. It is my hope that this work contributes some understanding of the role educational organizations can play in raising the hopes and academic performance of disadvantaged students who presently attend them or may attend them at some future date.

REFERENCES

Alba, Richard D. and D.E. Lavin, "Community Colleges and Tracking in Higher Education", Sociology of Education, Vol. 54 (October 1981), 223-237.

Astin, Alexander W., Minorities in Higher Education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1982.

Bernstein, Alison, "The Devaluation of Transfer: Current Explanations and Possible Causes", in L.S. Zwerling, Ed., The Community College and Its Critics, Vol.14 No.2, 31-40.

Bensimon, Estela M., "Measuring Predisposition to Transfer Among Community College Students", Paper presented at AERA/ASHE Conference, San Francisco, October 28-30, 1984.

Brown, G.H., N.L. Rosen, S.T. Hill, and M.A. Olivas, The Condition ofEducation for Hispanic Americans, National Center for Education Statistics, July 1980.

California Postsecondary Education Commission, California College-Going Rates 1981 Update. December 1982.

California Postsecondary Education Commission, Update of Community College Transfer Student Statistics, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985.

California Superintendent's Council on Hispanic Affairs, "Education Reform in California: An Hispanic Community Appraisal", California Superintendent's Council on Hispanic Affairs Report, May 1985.

Callan, Patrick M., D. Friedlander, S. Powell, N. Wood, "Report of the Joint Committee on the Master Plan for Higher Education", Sacramento: Joint Committee on the Master Plan for Higher Education, September 1973.

Center for Continuing Study of the California Economy, Projections of Hispanic Population for California 1985-2000, 1982.

Chacon, Maria, E.G. Cohen, and S. Strover, "Chicanas and Chicanos:Barriers to Progress in Higher Education". Paper prepared for conference on The Latino College Student, ETS, Princeton, January 1983.

Chavez, Bill, Report of the Special Committee on Community Colleges. Sacramento: Assembly California Legislature, January 1984.

Clark, Burton R., "The 'Cooling-Out' Function in Higher Education", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 65 (May 1960a), 569-576.

Clark, Burton R., "The 'Cooling-Out' Function Revisited", in G.B. Vaughan, (Ed.), New Directions for Community Colleges: Questioning the Community College Role, no.32. San Francisco:Jossey-Bass, 1980.

Clark, Burton R., The Open Door College:A Case Study. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1960b.

Cohen, Arthur M. and F.B. Braver, The American Community College. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1982.

De los Santos, Alfredo, "Finding the Facts About Mexican America", Paper presented at the National Conference on Higher Education,. American Association for Higher Education, Washington, D.C., March 13, 1986.

Dolman, Geoffrey and N.S. Kaufman, Minorities in Higher Education: The Changing Southwest California, Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, The College Board, December 1984.

Dougherty, Kevin, "The Effects of Community Colleges: Aid or Hindrance To Socioeconomic Attainment?", Sociology of Education, Vol. 60 (April 1987), 86-103.

Duran, Richard P., Hispanics' Education and Background Predictors of College Achievement. New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1983.

Evangelauf, Jean, "2-Year Colleges Are Advised to Find Out What Students and Public Expect of Them", Chronicle of Higher Education, April 17, 1985.

Fryer, Thomas W. and C. Turner, "The Transfer Status of Non-Transfer Students", Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Washington, D.C., April 20, 1987.

Granovetter, Mark, "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 91 (November 1985), 481-510.

Hodgkinson, Harold L., "Guess Who's Coming to College: Your Students in 1990", Washington, D.C.:National Institute of Independent Colleges and Universities, January 1983.

Irving, Carl, "Calls for Junior College Reform", San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle, April 1, 1984, p.A2.

Kanter, Rosabeth Moss, Men and Women of the Corporation. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1977.

Karabel, Jerome, "Community Colleges and Social Stratification:Submerged Class Conflict in American Higher Education", Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 42, (November 1972), 521-562.

Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), "Petition to Increase Minority Transfer From Community Colleges to State Four Year Schools", San Francisco, California: Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), September 1983.

Miles, Matthew B. and A. Michael Huberman, Analyzing Qualitative Data: Sourcebook of New Methods. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1984.

National Center for Education Statistics, "Hispanic Students in American High Schools: Background Characteristics and Achievement", National Center for Education Statistics Bulletin. Washington D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, July 1982.

Olivas, Michael A. (Ed.), Latino College Students. New York: Teachers College Press, 1986.

Peng, Samuel S., Transfer Students in Institutions of Higher Education; National Longitudinal Study of High School Seniors. Washington D.C.: National Center for Educational Statistics, 1977.

Project Pace, "Conditions of Education in California:1984", University of California, Berkeley: Policy Analysis for California Education (PACE), 1984.

Richardson, Richard C. and Louis W. Bender, Fostering Minority Access and Achievement in Higher Education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1987.

Savage, David G., "Community Colleges: To What End?", Los Angeles Times, September 10, 1984, p.1.

Scott, W. Richard, Organizations Rational, Natural, and Open Systems. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1981.

Sheldon, M. Stephen, Community College Statewide Longitudinal Study 1978-1981 Final Report. Sacramento: Chancellor's Office California Community Colleges, 1981.

Simpson, Richard H., The Neglected Branch: California Community Colleges. Sacramento: Senate Office of Research, January 1984.

State of California, California Labor Market Issues: Hispanics. Sacramento: Employment Development Department, September, 1981.

Turner, Caroline, "Demographic Shifts and Their Implications for Education: The Hispanic Population in California", University of California, Berkeley: Policy Analysis for California Education (PACE), July 1984.

Weick, Karl E., The Social Psychology of Organizing. Menlo Park, California: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1979.

Weiler, Daniel and Associates, A Study of California's Community Colleges. Berkeley, California:Berman, Weiler Associates, Vol. 2, April 1985.

Yin, Robert K., Case Study Research Design and Methods. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1984.

ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges NOV 04 1988